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ORIGIN INR-07

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 EUR-12 IO-11

H-02 L-03 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01 PM-04 /088 R

DRAFTED BY INR/RSE:EWILLENZ:CAD

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SUBJECT: 25TH CPSU CONGRESS

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF INR REPORT NO. 353 "NON-RULING
COMMUNIST PARTIES AT THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS" DATED

MARCH 11, 1976--ONE OF A SERIES OF ANALYSES OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE CONGRESS HELD IN MOSCOW, FEBRUARY 24-MARCH 5, 1976.

2. NOTABLE ABSENCES: POLITBURO MEMBER AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY SUSLOV OPENED THE CONGRESS BY NOTING PRIDEFULLY THE PRESENCE OF DELEGATES FROM 103 COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES AND NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. HE IGNORED THE FACT THAT CHINA AND ALBANIA WERE ABSENT AMONG THE RULING PARTIES AND THAT ONLY LATIN AMERICA WAS PRESENT IN FULL FORCE. OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD EITHER WERE ABSENT OR DEMONSTRATIVELY SENT LOWER-ECHELON REPRESENTATION TO EMPHASIZE THEIR RESERVATIONS ABOUT MOSCOW'S STANCE ON IDEOLOGICAL DISCIPLINE AND ORGANIZATIONAL COHESION IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT:

(A)--LAST-MINUTE CPSU EFFORTS TO GET THE JAPANESE COMMUNISTS, WHO HAD BEEN PRESENT AT THE PREVIOUS CONGRESS, TO ATTEND FAILED BECAUSE OF UNBRIDGEABLE DIVERGENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES.

(B)--THE MOST NOTABLE GAP AMONG THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES WAS THE FAILURE OF THE FRENCH AND SPANISH PARTIES TO SEND THEIR TOP MAN AS DELEGATION HEAD. THE ABSENCE OF THE ICELANDIC AND NETHERLAND PARTIES MERELY REPEATED THEIR CUSTOM OF NO LONGER PARTICIPATING IN SUCH MEETINGS.

(C)--WHILE REPRESENTATION FROM THE NEAR EAST WAS COMPLETE, THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY WAS NOT LED BY THE VETERAN KHALID BAKDASH. ALSO, THE ILLEGAL ALGERIAN SOCIALIST VANGUARD PARTY (ASVP), THE MOSCOW-RECOGNIZED COMMUNIST PARTY, STAYED AWAY BECAUSE THE OFFICIAL ALGERIAN NATIONAL FRONT OF LIBERATION (FLN) WAS PRESENT. (THE FLN DELEGATION HAD WALKED OUT OF THE 1971 CONGRESS BECAUSE THE ASVP WAS PRESENT.)

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(D)--NEITHER THE BURMESE PARTY NOR THE OFTEN VOCALLY DISSIDENT COMMUNIST PARTY OF REUNION PUT IN AN APPEARANCE.

3. A NUMBER OF THE NON-RULING PARTIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE FROM WESTERN EUROPE, VOICED POSITIONS MARKEDLY AT VARIANCE WITH MOSCOW'S CONCEPT OF WHAT A PROPERLY CONSTITUTED INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT SHOULD BE. TO BE SURE, MUCH OF WHAT THE COMMUNIST DISSIDENTS SAID WAS NOT NEW, BUT THE FACT THAT THEY SAID IT FROM THE ROSTRUM OF THE KREMLIN'S PALACE OF CONGRESS--AND STUCK TO IT DESPITE A FUSILLADE OF IMPLICIT CRITICISMS FROM BREZHNEV DOWN, DOES NOT AUGUR WELL FOR THE FUTURE OF A MOVEMENT THAT IS STILL

REELING FROM THE IMPACT OF THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT OF 1960.

4. BREZHNEV'S IDEOLOGICAL TRUMPET CALL: IN AN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO PREEMPT THE IDEOLOGICAL HIGH GROUND, BREZHNEV, IN HIS MAJOR ADDRESS, LEFT LITTLE ROOM FOR DOUBT THAT HE REGARDED CERTAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MOSCOW AND UNNAMED OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES AS NOT SUSCEPTIBLE OF COMPROMISE WHEN THEY INVOLVE "MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE" AND "CONTRADICT COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY." WITH THE WEST EUROPEANS IN MIND, HE STRESSED THAT:

(A)--THE STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE THE MARXIST-LENINIST FOUNDATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AGAINST ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE THEM REMAINS A JOINT TASK FOR ALL.

(B)--CONCESSIONS TO ACHIEVE SHORT-TERM ADVANTAGES WILL ONLY HURT A PARTY IN THE FINAL RECKONING.

(C)--"PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE AT THIS TIME. IT IS A MAIN PRINCIPLE OF MARXISM-LENINISM, AND IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT SOME NOW OPENLY DENIGRATE OR EVEN OPPOSE THIS PRECEPT BY REGARDING IT AS OBSOLETE WHEN IT REMAINS "A POWERFUL AND TESTED WEAPON" OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT WHOSE DEFENSE IS "A SACRED DUTY OF EVERY MARXIST-LENINIST."

5. THE VAST MAJORITY OF SPEAKERS FROM NON-RULING PARTIES DUTIFULLY ECHOED BREZHNEV'S STRICTURES. THE KEY WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, HOWEVER, PROVIDED RENEWED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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EVIDENCE OF THEIR GROWING DISPOSITION TO DISSOCIATE THEMSELVES FROM MOSCOW BY EMPHASIZING THEIR NATIONAL IDENTITIES, FAILING TO CASTIGATE THE MAO REGIME, AND AVOIDING ACCORDANCE TO MOSCOW OF ITS CUSTOMARY PREEMINENT ROLE IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. SIGNIFICANTLY, NEITHER THE FRENCH, ITALIAN, NOR SPANISH PARTY PICKED UP BREZHNEV'S ENDORSEMENT OF ANOTHER WORLD CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES.

6. BERLINGUER'S SPEECH: WITH THE ABSENCE OF CARRILLO AND MARCHAIS, THE TWO GENERAL SECRETARIES, RESPECTIVELY, OF THE SPANISH AND FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTIES--IN ITSELF AN UNPRECEDENTED SNUB OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP--IT WAS BERLINGUER, WHO, PROBABLY, VOICED THE SHARPEST DISSENT FROM THE NEW SOVIET ORTHODOXY. THE ITALIAN LEADER:

(A)--NOTED THAT HIS PARTY'S INDEPENDENT POSITION WAS LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS GAINING THE SUPPORT OF AN INCREASING NUMBER OF ITALIAN VOTERS;

(B)--POINTEDLY OMITTED ANY LAUDATORY REFERENCES TO "PRO-LETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AND EMPHASIZED THAT T;E KNOWN DIFFERENT VIEWS IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES, INCLUDING KEY IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES, HAD TO BE DISCUSSED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF "IMMUTABLE NORMS OF EQUALITY AND RESPECT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY PARTY"; AND

(C)--REFERRED POSITIVELY TO HIS PARTY'S ACCEPTANCE OF CURRENT ITALIAN FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS AS HAVING CONTRIBUTED TOWARD BETTER EAST-WEST RELATIONS, THEREBY REITERATING THE PCI'S OPPOSITION TO ANY "FOREIGN INTER-FERENCE" AND ADHERING TO THE POLICY OF BEING NEITHER ANTI-US" NOR "ANTI-SOVIET."

7. PLISSONNIER'S ADDRESS AND MARCHAIS' COMMENTS:
GASTON PLISSONNIER OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY, SUBSTITUTING FOR MARCHAIS, AVOIDED SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO HIS PARTY'S RECENT ABANDONMENT OF "THE DICTATORSHIP OF T;E PROLETARIAT." ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT REVIVE MARCHAIS' ATTACKS ON SOVIET VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE RECENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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FRENCH PARTY CONGRESS, HE STRESSED T;E IMPORTANCE OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE FREEDOM AND DEFENDED "SOCIALISM IN FRENCH COLORS." FURTHERMORE, PLISSONNIER'S POSSIBLY TONGUE-IN-CHEEK LAUDATORY REFERENCES TO THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION SUPPOSEDLY WILL BE BASED MAY NOT HAVE BEEN LOST ON PART OF HIS AUDIENCE.

8. IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY, PLISSONNIER ASSURED HIS LISTENERS THAT THE FRENCH PARTY WOULD CONTINUE TO COOPERATE WITH THE SOVIETS ON THE BASIS OF THE TWO INSEPARABLE PRINCIPLES "OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE." HE WENT ON TO BLAST GISCARD'S FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH ONLY RECENTLY HAS BEEN ENDORSED BY THE SOVIETS. DE GAULLE'S WAS BETTER, HE SAID IN EFFECT. MOREOVER, IN AN IMPROMPTU PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING HIS SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS, PLISSONNIER CONFIRMED, MUCH TO THE EMBARRASSMENT OF HIS HOSTS, THAT THE FRENCH PARTY AND THE SOVIETS DID NOT SEE EYE TO EYE ON FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY, AND HE SPOKE ALMOST TRUCULENTLY OF HIS FUNCTION AT THE CONGRESS AS ONE OF STATING HIS PARTY'S POSITION, NOT OF ENGAGING IN "NEGOTIATIONS OR DISCUSSION."

9. THIS TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT SPIRIT ALSO PERMEATED MARCHAIS' STATEMENTS TO JOURNALISTS IN FRANCE W;EN HE DISMISSED ANY CRITICISM OF THE PARTY'S RECENT REFORMULATION OF TRADITIONAL MARXIST TENETS. THE FRENCH COMMUNIST LEADER EXPLAINED HIS ABSENCE AT THE CPSU CONGRESS AS THE RESULT OF DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN HIS PARTY AND THE

SOVIETS OVER ISSUES RELATING TO SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY, AND OTHER MATTERS. HE NOTED FURTHER THAT THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR ANY MEETING WITH THE SOVIETS SIMPLY DID NOT EXIST AT THIS TIME AND HINTED STRONGLY THAT ANY INITIATIVE FOR BREAKING THE DEADLOCK WOULD HAVE TO COME FROM MOSCOW.

10. POSITIONS OF SPANISH AND OTHER PARTIES: DOLORES IBARRURI, THE LEGENDARY LA PASIONARIA OF CIVIL WAR DAYS, SUBSTITUTED FOR SPANISH PARTY LEADER CARRILLO, WHO POINTEDLY WAS MORE INTERESTED IN BEING IN ROME AS PART OF A SPANISH DELEGATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO PRINCIPAL ANTI-REGIME GROUPS, THE DEMOCRATIC JUNTA AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THE PLATFORM OF DEMOCRATIC CONVERGENCE, THAN IN MOSCOW. RELYING ON HER ROLE AS A SYMBOL OF RESISTANCE TO FRANCO, IBARRURI DEALT MORE WITH THE PROBLEMS OF SPAIN AND GAVE ONLY PERFUNCTORY ATTENTION TO ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE SOVIETS. HER REFERENCE TO "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" SEEMED ALMOST AN AFTERTHOUGHT AND FAILED TO CONVEY THE CUSTOMARY RINGING ENDORSEMENT OF THE PREEMINENT ROLE OF THE CPSU IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

11. WHILE MOST OF THE OTHER WEST EUROPEAN SPEAKERS FULLY LIVED UP TO THEIR ROLE AS LOYAL SUPPORTERS OF MOSCOW, THE HEADS OF THE BRITISH AND SWEDISH PARTIES ALSO SEEMED TO HAVE QUALIFIED THEIR ENDORSEMENT OF THE SOVIET POSITION. BOTH EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL FREEDOM AND LINKED THEIR SUPPORT OF "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" TO FULL INDEPENDENCE FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE PARTIES.

12. EUROPEAN DOMESTIC REACTIONS: IT IS TOO EARLY TO ASCERTAIN WHAT, IF ANY, BASIC CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COMMUNISTS IN FRANCE AND ITALY IN THE WAKE OF THEIR STILL GUARDED CRITICISM OF MOSCOW AT THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS. WHILE SOME OBSERVERS REMAIN SKEPTICAL THAT THERE HAS BEEN ANY REAL CHANGE IN THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN COMMUNISTS' PERCEPTION OF MOSCOW, OTHERS SEEMED MORE PERSUADED:

(A)--IN ITALY, FORMER PRESIDENT SARAGAT, AN INVETERATE ANTI-COMMUNIST SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, REPORTEDLY REGARDED BERLINGUER'S BEHAVIOR AT THE CPSU CONGRESS AS DISPLAYING MORAL AND POLITICAL COURAGE.

(B)--SOME ITALIAN SOCIALISTS CONSIDERED THE IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE OPENED BY BERLINGUER AS BEING OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE TO THAT BEGUN BY THE CHINESE IN 1970. AN ITALIAN LEFT-WING JOURNAL STATED THAT "BERLINGUER'S SPEECH MARKED THE ITALIAN PARTY'S FINAL DETACHMENT"

FROM MOSCOW.

(C)--IN FRANCE, EVEN RAYMOND ARON NOW ACCEPTS THE EXISTENCE OF DEEP CLEAVAGES BETWEEN MOSCOW AND THE FRENCH AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTIES; HOWEVER, HE DRAWS NO PARTICULAR HOPE FOR THE WEST FROM THIS CIRCUMSTANCE, SINCE "A NATIONAL MARXISM-LENINISM" WOULD STILL BE FLAWED WHEN IT COMES TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERAL SOCIETIES.

(D)--THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS, ON THE OTHER HAND, REGARD THE GROWING DIVISION BETWEEN MOSCOW AND THEIR COMMUNIST

RIVALS AS CONFIRMATION OF THE CORRECTNESS OF THEIR POLICY OF COLLABORATION WITH THEM.

13. INTERNATIONALISM IN SUSPENSE: THE FROSTY TONE OF THE COMMUNIQUE THAT CONCLUDED BERLINGUER'S MEETING WITH BREZHNEV, SUSLOV, AND PONOMAREV REFLECTS THE POOR STATE OF INTERPARTY RELATIONS. THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST CHIEFTAIN PROBABLY MEANT TO UNDERSCORE THIS FACT WHEN, AFTER RETURNING TO ROME, HE CHARACTERIZED HIS CONVERSATION IN MOSCOW WITH THE THREE SOVIETS AS HAVING BEEN MARKED BY "CORDIALITY" AND "FRANKNESS," KNOWN EUPHEMISMS FOR DISAGREEMENTS.

14. CONVERSELY, THE SOVIET ATTACK ONLY SEEMED TO HAVE CEMENTED FURTHER THE BUDDING UNITY OF THE INDEPENDENT-MINDED WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, REGULARLY SUPPORTED BY THE YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS, IN THEIR RESISTANCE TO SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO STEAMROLLER THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE STILL STALLED ALL-EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE. UNSURPRISINGLY, THAT CONFERENCE WAS BARELY MENTIONED DURING THE CPSU CONGRESS, AND PROSPECTS FOR ITS EARLY CONVENING DO NOT SEEM ENHANCED BY THE PROCEEDINGS IN MOSCOW.

15. IN A RECENT INTERVIEW WITH A MAJOR ITALIAN JOURNAL, CARRILLO OF THE SPANISH CP BELITTLED THE DANGERS OF EXCOMMUNICATION BY MOSCOW WERE HE TO CONTINUE WITH HIS "HERESIES": "WHAT RIGHT HAVE THEY TO CONDEMN US? THEY CAN CRITICIZE US AS WE CRITICIZE THEM. CONDEMNATION IS EXCOMMUNICATION FROM A CHURCH, AND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WAS A CHURCH BUT IS ONE NO LONGER. INDEED, IN THE WEST THE COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE NOT FOUND THEM- LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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SELVES ON THE SAME ROAD BECAUSE OF A RESOLUTION FROM ABOVE. THERE IS NO WESTERN COMMUNIST BLOC, BUT EVERY PARTY HAS REACHED SIMILAR CONCLUSIONS INDEPENDENTLY."

16. CARRILLO'S WORDS WERE ONLY THE LATEST IN A SERIES OF RISING CHALLENGES TO THE SOVIETS' AUTHORITY BY FOREIGN COMMUNISTS. THE TIME IS LONG PAST WHEN SOVIET WISHES WERE REGARDED AS LAW BY THE REST OF THE MOVEMENT.

17. WHATEVER IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS STILL AFFLICT THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, THEY ARE INCREASINGLY ATTUNED TO DOMESTIC AUDIENCES. THAT FACT PLACES THEIR INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS MORE AND MORE OUT OF THE FOCUS OF "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AS INTERPRETED BY MOSCOW. WE CANNOT YET TELL WHETHER THE SOVIET

LEADERSHIP WILL ACCEPT THIS TREND AND SEEK TO ADAPT TO IT, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO REVERSE IT WILL BE FUTILE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 15 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, COMMUNISTS, PARTY MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: vogelfj
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE062018
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: INR/RSE:EWILLENZ:CAD
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D760096-0652
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197603116/baaaeoiv.tel
Line Count: 349
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN INR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: vogelfj
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 MAY 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <27 AUG 2004 by vogelfj>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CT: 25TH CPSU CONGRESS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, XH, UR
To: ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
ALGIERS
CAIRO
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Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006